2: Redfield & Villa Rojas E-4,5 (1938) 1939 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

796 535 carried a red banner. At the church the four men performed a dance. Divided into pairs facing each other at a distance of 6 m., they first shook the ribbons on their poles while giving loud cries, varied by putting the hand over the mouth, and running to meet one another. Then they made a slight inclination of the head, turned half around, and returned to their original places. After repeating this thrice, the pairs exchanged places and performed new figures. At the conclusion they surrounded the flag-bearer, shouting and waving the ribbons.

796 534 184 [177] Although harp and guitars were here used in an apparently religious dance, in several of the communities it appears that the stringed instruments of European origin (guitar, violin, and harp) are used only for secular purposes, the religious musical instruments (which are often kept in the church) consisting of cane flute (*ahmay*) and drums. In Chanal two drums are used, a large drum (*kayob*) and a small one (*chin kayob*). In Tenejapa the single drum is called *anteel* and is accompanied by a sort of cornet.

798 796 184 [194] Some minor observances having to do with the cult of the saints may be mentioned. In the highland villages it is usual for each important saint to be represented by two images of which one, the genuine santo, is too sacred to be taken from the church; the other, called *debo* (for *doble*) substitutes for the true santo in religious processions.[36] In Bachajón the care of the church is alternated weekly between the two calpules; on Christmas Eve each church-caretaker (*priora*) must contribute to the decoration of the altar ten little figures of clay, of which five are in the form of a bull, and five in the form of a horse and rider. The church at Citalá contains many santos of which two (San Mateo and San Gabriel) are painted black and enjoy special prestige. In this church a straw mat, yellow in color with red ribbons interwoven, is used to kneel upon before the principal saints; it is kept with extraordinary care. At Citalá a principal annual event is the ritual washing of the saints' clothing. This occurs two weeks after Holy Week. The "Great Washing," when the clothing of the principal saints is washed, is performed at a spring where the water is thought to be of absolute purity. The "Small Washing" of the clothes of the lesser saints may be done in the river. The Great Washing is reported as involving the consumption of eight hogs and a great quantity of rum.

798 796 796 Although it is evident that the religion of the Tzeltals contains many pagan elements, some of which have been reported by Blom and LaFarge,[37] Villa's notes do not add a great deal on this point. The use of hilltop shrines was noted at Oxchuc, where one of these is called Ikal Ahau, apparently after an ancient deity.[38] The teacher at Amatenango reports that the Indians there make offerings for rain at a rock marked with a zigzag thought to represent the lightning. No information was obtained on the beliefs as to *nahuales*: this subject is discussed by Blom and LaFarge.

78 [114] 778 782 776 114

[36] This usage corresponds precisely with that of the pairs of crosses used by the Quintana Roo-Maya, of which one, the *cruz fiadora*, is moved about in ritual.

[37] Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:362–374.

[38] Núñez de la Vega (1702, p. 9) says, "Los de Oxchuc y de otros pueblos de los Llanos veneran mucho al ydolo que llaman Icalahau, que quiere decir negro principal, o señor de negros," as quoted in Becerra, 1932, p. 244.

37. Blom and LaFarge, 1927, 2:369–371.

4: Villa Rojas E-4, 5 (1938-1944) 1969
NV9 Tzeltal NV9

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778
78 Household ceremonies follow as the head
of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

241 782 [825] *chin-uch* (May 20–June 8), an offering is made to the supernatural being which reigns over it. The natives have vague notions of the nature of this being. They say that *uch* is the name of a small insect which spoils the pozole and, also, of the *tlacuache* or *zarigueya* which often destroys the milpa. The offering, hung at the entrance of the hut, consists of a ball of pozole wrapped in plantain leaf, a red chile, a tortilla, an ear of corn, and a little stick like the kind used to turn the ear cooking over hot ocals. 241 782 787 All objects are minute in size. When the offering achieves its purpose, on the completion of a 20-day period, the atmosphere becomes hazy "as if there were smoke." It is explained that "the chin-uch burned its house," which forecasts a favorable sun for development of the milpa. If such a sign should not appear on the indicated date or at the end of the next month of *mukul-uch* (June 9–28), the forecast is ominous and indicates that the rains will be excessive, greatly harming the milpa.

778 796 [184] Another mukul-mixa is performed in Oxchuc, in homage to the hill called Ikal-Ajau, near the ceremonial center, of which the Indians say "it is a living hill." The name of the hill is that of the ancient hill worshipped by the Oxchueqeños. Nuñez de la Vega (in Becerra, 1933, p. 293) reports: "Those of Oxchuc and other towns of Los Llanos venerate very much the idol which they call Icalajau, which means principal Negro or [789] lord of the Negroes." This Mass, performed the first days of June, prevents locusts and other plagues from coming.

241 78 Once the crop is in the granary, other family prayers are said before the household cross, to give thanks for the good received and to petition the supernatural beings to protect the grain from insects and rodents.

Other Subsistence Resources

262 235 [231] [437] Other food resources include raising chickens and pigs. A family averages about 10 chickens, using the eggs as money when

[P. 202-B]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

tions of self will find a responsive audience only within these linguistic and physical boundaries. The sense of insulation is a denial of regional and national political institutions in which they interact with the other Indians and Ladinos who are part of their present world and share their history. The town itself is a product of the Spanish colonial *congregación*, which drew together diverse Indian populations that had been scattered in small settlements. The outlying barrios are occupied by Indians who have moved out from the center, as well as foreign Indians who had worked in the *fincas*, or large plantations, within the township. These latter people are referred to by a derisive term, *Kurik*, meaning roughly "country hick." Beyond these, and still within the municipal limits, there are a series of *colonias*, settlements populated by Indians who have moved here from other towns and by *mestizos*, or acculturated Indians. These settlers acquired land in the time of Juarez or later in the Cardenas period. Ladino men are called *Kaxlan* and women *Šinlan;* foreigners who do not appear to be of the country are called *Alemán*, the Spanish term for German.

The focus of this book is on the lives and thoughts of people living within the center. The people of Tzo'ontahal live in a square world, surrounded by a round universe. From the square hole, cut in the earth at the center post of their square house to receive the sacrifice of a live chicken when the house is built, stretches a square village (it appears as a rectangle on the map, but they draw it as a square).[2] The fields are measured in squares of twenty-five arms' breadths, with five handspans measuring the square between each plant. Within this square world, they have elaborated techniques for dealing with spiritual and human co-residents in curing rituals, offerings for crops, burial practices, and baptism rites. Their present cultural stock reveals a selective absorption of Spanish colonial features along with twentieth-century innovations. They have techniques for planting and harvesting milpa, marketing the pottery manufactured in all the households, curing an eclipse of the moon, divining causes of illness and curing the maladjusted social relations which cause it, manufacturing and

2. This view of the world as square is shared by Tzeltal and Tzotzil neighbors in Larraínzar (Holland 1963:69), San Pedro Chenalhó (Guiteras Holmes 1961:254), and Pinola (Hermitte 1964). The four-direction concept of the village and world noted by Landa (Tozzer 1941:135) suggests a square-space concept.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

Appendix 3

Observation of Behavior in Public Places

A. Observation in Church

Sunday morning, August 1

5:40 The mayordomos are sitting on stone benches in front of the church. They are quiet. 78 • 126

6:10 Two men go up and ring the bells.

6:23 A man kneels in front of the altar and prays.

6:35 Two men come down from the bell tower. The mayordomos have now moved to the opposite side in the front of the church and are standing around talking.

6:45 Two men go up to the bell tower, ring the bells for three minutes, then repeatedly with no intervals.

7:05 Two women and a boy in Ladino dress kneel in front of Santa Lucía.

7:15 Two women and two girls (five and seven years of age perhaps) kneel in front of Santa Lucía. One of the women has two candles; she lights one. The other women with fresh flowers places them in front of Santiago, touches her candle to him, and then places it in one of the glasses on the altar that is near his statue.

7:23 Two women and a little boy carrying two candles come in and kneel in front of Santa Lucía. A boy of about twelve or thirteen who came in with the first two women had been sitting in front of Santa Lucía but now that quite a few women are here, he has moved over to the men's side.

7:30 One man comes down from the bell tower. All mayordomos come in and light the candles in front of their saints, then leave church.

7:35 Two men genuflect in front of the baptistry (facing baptistry), make the sign of the cross, and then kneel facing the main altar. (Genuflection is a sign of adoration officially and is only supposed to be done facing the Blessed Sacrament.)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

• 71
126

7:45 Miguel, the former fiscal, enters, goes to the left side of the altar, prays a few minutes, goes to a stool in front, and sits there. (He is the only Indian who uses stool to kneel on.) A man with a little girl goes to Santiago, kisses his statue, then kneels and prays in front of him.

7:50 One remaining mayordomo (the rest went home) enters and speaks to the women. Some are leaving now. They kiss altars on the way out, sometimes making the sign of the cross before they kiss the altar. Two women come to me to tell me, "There is no mass."

8:00 Two of the women take out the old flowers in the vases and add the new ones.

8:10 Another woman tells me, "There is no mass." All the women except one have left. The two who fixed the flowers are carrying the old flowers out with them. The woman who stayed is praying out loud now in front of Santa Lucía.

8:20 Two men enter, face the door, make the sign of the cross, and then go up to the front of the church, kneeling now and praying out loud. A man, barefoot, in Ladino dress and carrying a bulging leather bag, enters and kneels in front of the main altar to pray.

8:40 One woman is still wailing (about one-half hour now). A man enters, kneels for one minute in front of the side altar facing the main altar. He goes to Santa Lucía, kisses the altar, goes to all the other altars except one in the front left, and then leaves. The woman stops wailing. She picks three daisies from the vase, touches them four times to the glass front of Santa Lucía's case, kisses them, and leaves them lying on the altar. She kisses each statue on the way out except the statue to the left front.

8:45 Of the mayordomos who are now coming back, five enter the church. One takes Santiago and puts him in the baptistry, then leaves. Two more make the rounds of the statues, pausing a moment in front of each one, then kissing it and moving on. One of them puts money in the coffin-case slot for offerings. They all leave within five minutes. One of the men takes two of the drums with him.

9:15 Men are talking and laughing outside. Once in a while it is quiet. Some begin to play the drum and flute. This lasts for three minutes.

9:20 Another piece is begun, lasting four minutes. One man comes in, kneels facing the front side altar, and after two minutes leaves.

9:45 Two mayordomos begin to play music but don't continue.

10:45 The mayordomos are drinking the liquor left from Santiago's fiesta.

11:00 Some mayordomos are playing the drum and flute.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

11:30 The mayordomos ring the bells again. A man says it is twelve o'clock.

12:00 They go home, leaving the door open and the church empty.

B. Observation in the School

Morning

The schoolrooms are exceedingly crowded with three hundred and fifty children in four rooms and an open porch. The babble of the children's voices reciting their lessons drowns out the voice of the teacher, who has to shout to draw their attention to a new lesson.

All the teaching is done in Spanish. On one occasion, when no one in the class understood what was said, the teacher asked a little boy to translate for her. When she talks, usually about only half or three-quarters of the class pays attention. When the children are singing, all but two or three students participate.

In taking roll, the teacher calls the boys' names first. This order is reversed when the children leave the classroom, with the girls going first. Seating order on the long benches set before tables is not segregated by sex, although there is some clustering.

In teaching the children to read, the teacher writes the vowels on the blackboard in alphabetical order. The children are asked to repeat them after her. She does this seven or eight times. She has a number of the children come up and use the pointer to indicate certain vowels while the rest of the children repeat their names. She leads them in singing the song she has taught them before about the vowels. She mixes up the order of the vowels, pointing to them and asking the children to name them. She asks how many there are and writes a number under each vowel. She drills the class in the names of the vowels and the corresponding numbers for about five minutes more. Using sticks (the majority of the children have five sticks which they carry in their bags, and those who don't use their fingers) she leads them in practicing their numbers up to ten. She asks for volunteers to count from one to ten. When a child falters, she repeats the numbers with him.

The teacher uses a doll to teach the children parts of the body, giving the name in Spanish first, and afterward asking, "What do you call this?" She takes the doll to small groups of children sitting at their desks and lets them handle it. They show much interest, crowding around the doll. She then shows